[See category 616 for additional information about cultural differences between the Tarthar and Teivali divisions]

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124 satisfactory from the point of view of Toda veracity. The
184 general agreement of the accounts obtained from different individuals was very striking, and, whenever discrepancies occurred, it was nearly always found that they were due either to misunderstanding or to differences in the practices of different sections of the Toda people. These differences are so great that in many cases it made a rigorous application of the method of direct corroboration impossible. There are distinct differences in the ceremonial and social customs of the two chief divisions of the Todas and some differences in the practices of different clans. In the investigation of the dairy ritual, there were found to be great differences in the practices of different dairies, and, for the practice of any one dairy, I had sometimes to be content with the information of one native only; but I did not content myself with such independent accounts till I had satisfied myself of the trustworthiness of the witness, and had learnt enough of the customs in question to be in a position to weigh the evidence. As regards the differences in the customs of different sections of the community, many of my informants were able to describe the practices not only of their own section but also of others.

124 After a time I managed to put myself on such terms with my chief informants that they were always ready to confess any deficiencies in their knowledge and would refer me to others whose special experience would make them more satisfactory informants. Occasionally, however, they carried this a little too far and pleaded ignorance of a subject when they were really only reluctant to reveal the more esoteric knowledge.

Still more important than this method of direct corroboration of independent accounts is what I may call the method of indirect corroboration. By this I mean the method of obtaining the same information in different ways. Often this indirect corroboration occurred accidentally. The whole of Toda ceremonial and social life forms such an intricate web of closely related practices that I rarely set out to investigate some one aspect of the life of the people without obtaining information bearing on many other wholly different

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above.

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank.

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *vaskperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudsipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a

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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village.

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never-

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184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

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234 512 788 793 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oñ*" thrice, takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 234 463 793 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs. He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 793 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste called the *tikelfnav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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786 793 833 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 554 793 234 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*. It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social importance from having held the sacred office. I could find no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*.

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies.

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *piil* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*.

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunituthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth.

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of

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THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*.

The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mod*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

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the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel.

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursàs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karkùln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used.

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked.

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokk* are appointed who go to Pursàs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*.

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvatmolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokk*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers.

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mand*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*.

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polvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni*." Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *nirödibudundr*.

The Ordination of the Palol

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niröditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nödrs *ti*, the *niröditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nödrs, partly at Ödr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nödrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

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234x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli;* the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

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both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

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The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

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In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

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Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

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refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common.

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common.

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form:

Tânenmâ;	*târmâmâ;*	*i- kark tânenmâ;*	
may it be well or may be blessed;	may it be well or may be merciful;	with the buffaloes and calves may it be well;	
nâv ârk mâ;	*kazun ârk mâ;*	*nudri ârk mâ;*	
may there be no disease;	may there be no destroyer;	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);	
kâvel ârk mâ;	*per kârt pâ mâ:*	*pustht kârt pâ mâ;*	
may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	may be kept from floods;	
tât ârk mâ;	*mâ un mâ;*	*maj eu mâ;*	*pul pâv mâ;*
may there be no fire;	may rain fall;	may clouds rise;	may grass flourish;
ulr ûr mâ.			
may water spring.			

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âtham	*idith*	*emk*	*tânenmâ.*
them	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the

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given above were omitted, while others were added, especially requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

"May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place

[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

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consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate.

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated.

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer.

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthkhr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
ònerş	Kuudr village.
palitûdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tûdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
tûdrpalshpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalshp:p	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

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Alioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho (see p. 211.)
Kàrzo	Karzo
Teikhunteu	Teikhun
mänpòk	Kanòdrs village.
mutirzhpòk	ditto.
tûnertû	the pen.
kûnkr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
aners	Kuzhu village.
tûtashki	Pishkwosht village.

[778]

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *pok* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual.

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

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The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

THIS chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teuòdipol*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *teuol*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *teuol* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teuol*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

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161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

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accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative.

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk.

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children.

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which

[1] Pp. 194-5.

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Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

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618 *monegar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 851 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuli*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

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himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursüitpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

The history is also very interesting in showing that a century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

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621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 778 609 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikòdri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

● 184 618 234 554 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

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an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans.

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug puts nits ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning

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554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Me'gars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
234

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

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621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars* 773 *ama, kuvòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may 618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

● 184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior 554 position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to 618 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are 773 not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr* bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtit* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

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588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
594 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokkithodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nödrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

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they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

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198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
616 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

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Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kodtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 765 184 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr, and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 616 764 778 783 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 796 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

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belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other.

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

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184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
174 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some
184 time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
192 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if
199 the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

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now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:—

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukêri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipöti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pûli*.

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184 197 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 184 616 775 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 142 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it. When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 361 621 616 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

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Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

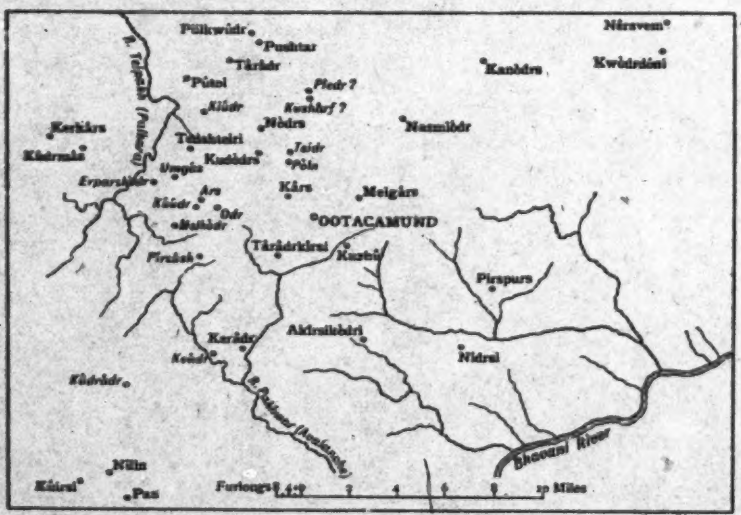

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a community, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

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sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

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174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater
847 prevalence in the earlier generations.
184 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz. :—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserzhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
"possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
"with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
"self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
"at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
"Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
"darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
"the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
"the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
"strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
"features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
"*forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2½ inches from the root of the nose
"to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
"moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
"colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
"in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
"measuring from root to tip 2½ inches, and height from base of ala to ridge 1½ inches,
"breadth of ala from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
"full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

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* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1836.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1835, says:—
"This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
"total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
"Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
"girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breeas' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breeas' Tables.